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There are other resemblances besides the descriptions of works of art. The introduction of many references to the French Revolution and to Napoleon is only natural in Croly's poem, but in *Childe Harold* is, at least, unexpected. With *Paris in 1815*, stanza iii, compare *Childe Harold*, IV, xcii. With Croly's

"the feast

Where guilty France got drunk, but not with wine,"
(stanza lxxii)

compare Byron's

"France got drunk with blood to vomit crime;
And fatal have her Saturnalia been" (stanza
xcvii).

Towards the end of his poem (stanza xcvi) Croly pays a tribute of regret to the Princess Charlotte, even as towards the end of *his* (stanzas clxvii-clxxii) Byron voices the national grief at the same loss.

If the above series of parallels be considered, especially with due regard to the fact that Byron read *Paris in 1815* while composing his fourth canto, it will, I think, be admitted that Croly's poem must be numbered among Byron's sources.

Paris in 1815 ends with a loyal, high Tory eulogy of George III. The description of the funeral (stanzas xcix-ci) evidently influenced Byron's *Vision of Judgment*, stanzas ix and x. With Croly's references to the "pomp," "the Gothic maze," "the silken banners," "thousand torches blaze," "gorgeous catacomb," "gilding," "gold," etc., compare Byron's "pomp," "Gothic manners," "banners," "torches," "gorgeous coffins," "gilding," "gold," etc. Croly's tribute was certainly part of that "due infusion" of purchased "elegy" at which Byron aimed his satire.

the Angels, Byron's *Heaven and Earth*, and Thomas Dale's *Irak and Adah*. Croly's poem, like the story of the first angel in Moore's poem, is on the subject of the Rabbinical legend of the angels Haruth and Maruth. In an article on "Die Engel Hârût und Mârût in der englischen Dichtung" (*Englische Studien*, XXXVII, 461, f.), Koeppel discusses Moore's version and William Basse's *Woman in the Moon*, but does not refer to Croly. Nor is the poem mentioned in Mayn's monograph *Über Lord Byrons "Heaven and Earth,"* Breslau, 1887. Croly follows the legend loosely, but preserves the central incident of the drunken angel, who is beguiled by a fair maiden into revealing the charm which causes his wings to appear when he desires to return to Heaven. The maiden, having tempted him into betrayal of the secret, changes into the awful form of the fallen Eblis, who had assumed the seductive shape in order to compass the ruin of the angel. This catastrophe is very different from the sentimental conclusion of Moore's story, in which the maiden, pronouncing the charm, escapes from the importunities of her angel-lover and takes up her chaste abode in a star. Croly shows the influence of Byron in his choice of the Spenserian stanza and, possibly, in the Oriental theme. The introduction of Eblis suggests Beckford's *Vathek* as well as *The Giaour*, and references to the ruins of Palmyra recall Volney and *Queen Mab*. The poem is of little intrinsic worth, but is of some interest as the first of the group of poems on the same general theme.

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Another poem of Croly's, while not a direct source, is closely related to Byron. This is *the Angel of the World* (*Poetical Works* I, 177-225), published in 1820, the earliest of four poems, all published within two or three years of each other, on the subject of the love of the "sons of God" for the "daughters of men." The other poems are Moore's *Loves of*

THE STORY OF TROY IN ORDERIC VITAL

There are three allusions to the Trojan War in Orderic's history. The first simply affirms Dares' authority in the matter.¹ The second is quite explicit, and proves Orderic's complete reliance on Dares, to the exclusion of other

writers with whom he must have been acquainted. It is brought in at the moment when Bishop Guitmund, of Aversa, is admonishing William of Normandy concerning the vanity of human affairs. As an instance in point the bishop cites the memorable siege: "Greci sub Agamemnone et Palamede Trojam obsederunt, et Priamum regem Laomedontis filium ac liberos ejus: Hectorem et Troilum, Paridem et Deiphobum, Amphimacumque trucidaverunt, et famosum Phrygiae regnum post decennem obsidionem flamma et ferro depopulati destruxerunt."²

We said that Orderic accepts Dares completely. So he does, yet in this passage he is not following him to the letter. Palamedes, according to Dares, was in supreme command of the Greeks at a certain moment of the campaign. It is also Dares who makes Amphimachus a son of Priam, and brings him forward at the last to protest against the unpatriotic advice of Aeneas and Antenor. But he leaves his fate entirely in the dark.³ This silence seems to have worried Orderic, and he reckons Amphimachus among the victims of the catastrophe. At least we must suppose that Amphimachus' death was Orderic's invention. Had it been in tradition, independent of Dares, we should expect to find it in Benoît's poem. Inasmuch as few Trojans escaped the sack of their city, and Amphimachus is not named among the few, Orderic's conclusion in regard to him, if it was Orderic's, is a perfectly logical one.⁴

But apart from the question of Amphimachus' end, did any tradition about the Trojan war exist in France in the early twelfth century, outside the indications contained in

Dares? We have no evidence that it did, and yet another passage in Orderic, our third allusion, would seem to point in that direction. Orderic is speaking about Baldwin II of Jerusalem, his imprisonment with his comrades in a Turkish fortress, their capture of the fortress, the siege they underwent in it by the Emir, and the armistice he finally proposed to them. But while they were hesitating over accepting the truce and its terms, Fatumia, the Emir's wife, whose residence was this very stronghold, came in on them, urging them to refuse her husband's offer. The castle was strong, she said, and well provisioned. They could still hold out a long time, and their endurance should be fortified by the memory of the wars before Troy, so familiar to them: "Decennem Troiae obsidionem recolite, et miros heroum eventus, quos histriones vestri quotidie concrepant, recensete, et inde vires resumite, animosque corroborate." And they should emulate these brave deeds all the more because they were Frenchmen and the tradition of French valor was in their keeping: "More Gallorum fortiter certate, et usque ad victoriam perseverate, ne turpis cantilena de vobis cantetur in orbe."⁵

The weakness of Moslem princesses for French captives was thoroughly understood, even in Orderic's day (—1125–1142). But they rarely added to their susceptibility such a surprising acquaintance with the history and manners of the French. The "histriones," whom Fatumia introduces here, were public and private amusers, mountebanks perhaps—to judge from Orderic's use of the word. In this particular connection they must have been story-tellers also. There is little likelihood of their being minstrels, since Orderic is not sparing of "cantilena," when he means a song. Therefore we would assume that the story of Troy was colported among the French in the form of prose narratives, a notion which would place the "histriones" of our text in the same class with the "conteurs" of Thomas or Chrétien. That listening to tales of the Trojan war was a frequent diversion in North France fol-

¹ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Prologus (in the edition of the "Société de l'Histoire de France," vol. I, p. 1).

² *Op. cit.*, IV, c. 6 (edition cited, vol. II, p. 229).

³ Benoît de Sainte-Maure, as we know, blindly imitates Dares at this point. He counts Amphimachus among the sons of Priam, makes him oppose the traitors' advice, and then drops him out of his narrative.

⁴ Of course the introduction of Amphimachus into Priam's household may date from Dares' sources, and not from Dares himself. Still one would expect further mention of him by Dares.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, XI, c. 26 (edition cited, vol. IV, pp. 254, 255).

lows almost without question from these remarks of Orderic.

But to go further and risk a conjecture as to the content of these tales is another matter. We should suppose that the element of romantic adventure entered into them, at least into some of the situations which Dares outlines, the story of Briseida, of Achilles' passion. At all events the tales were there, they were undoubtedly semi-popular in tenor, perhaps wholly popular. They must have been perfectly familiar to Benoît, who was born and brought up in the region with which Orderic was best acquainted (Normandy, Ile-de-France, Orléanais), and to the patrons for whom Benoît wrote his *Troie*. And they could not have failed to influence him as he composed and recited his poem from day to day. Indeed, it may have been the inspiration derived from these humbler narratives, and not the arid annals of a Dares, that first suggested to the French poet the idea of recreating the story of Troy in literature.⁶

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FURTHER TRACES OF GLEIM'S GRENADIERLIEDER

Of all the songs in Gleim's series on the events of the Seven Years War, the first, "Bey Eröffnung des Feldzuges 1756,"¹ seems to contain the gist of all the themes which the author—in the guise of a Prussian grenadier—has worked over, with varying success, in the ten following songs. And it looks as tho this

⁶ A by-product of Fatumia's enthusiasm may be a hint as to the popularity of the *Chanson de Roland* (the Oxford version). Her "More Gallorum fortiter certate, et usque ad victoriam perseverate, ne turpis cantilena de vobis cantetur in orbe" recalls the spirit and, in part, the words of Roland concerning the swords Durendal and Haltecler:

En tantes teres les avum nus portées!
Tantes batailles en avum afinées!
Male cançun n'en deit estre cantée.

Roland, ll. 1464–1466.

¹ See Vol. 4 of *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1882, p. 7 ff.

same song became more popular than any other of the series and did, therefore, much toward creating the so-called "Gleim'sche Manier" in soldiers' songs of later decades. For it is from this song more than from any other, or I might say, from all the others, that most of the later imitations seem to come.

I called attention recently² to some striking resemblances in some of the songs sung at the time of the Napoleonic wars, to Gleim's Grenadier songs. The most important of them pointed unmistakably to the song referred to above, as their model. At that time it seemed to me remarkable that Gleim's influence had lived so long among the soldiers. But I now find another anonymous soldiers' song, this time in the *Liederhort*³ which was sung in Germany as late as 1880, and which shows unmistakable evidence of the persistence of the Halberstädter's influence, and indeed of that same most popular song, "Bey Eröffnung &c."

Böhme, by including this last song in his great collection, stamps it as a "Volkslied." And it seems really to be such, if we judge it by the usual definitions of that rather evasive genre. At any rate, it was sung very widely and for a great many years by the German soldiers.⁴ So we have at last definite proof of how, after a hundred and more years, the Grenadier's spirit has completed his gradual descent from his original position as an exalted, strutting, boastful, "muse of war," and has become a lusty comrade of the common soldier.

At the left, p. 206, stands Gleim's song; next to it, extracts from the anonymous songs of the Napoleonic wars,⁵ and at the right the newer song, sung between 1866 and 1880 and probably even later.

² *Modern Language Notes*, April, 1911.

³ *Deutscher Liederhort* von Ludwig Erk, fortgesetzt von Franz M. Böhme. 3 Vols. Leipzig, 1894. See Vol. III, No. 1348.

⁴ Böhme thinks (*Liederhort*, Vol. III, p. 226) that it was first sung as early as 1866.

⁵ Quoted from "*Achtzehnhundertneun, die politische Lyrik des Kriegsjahres*" von Robert F. Arnold und Karl Wagner. Being Vol. XI of the *Schriften des Literarischen Vereins in Wien*. Wien, 1909.